



Stopping the war business



The Broken Rifle

Editorial: Stopping the war business - talking tactics and linking methods

War draws on deep roots, and leaves long legacies. Years before the attention-grabbing images of bombs falling and armoured vehicles rolling around, and well after the photographers have packed up and gone home, violence is being fed, nurtured, and profited from. In November we saw the shocking attacks in Paris – the first business day after the French president 'declared war' on Daesh saw healthy growths in the share prices of some of the world's biggest arms companies.

This edition of the Broken Rifle explores the ways in which 'war profiteering' occurs, and draws on the articles submitted by the speakers at the 'Stopping the War Business' seminar co-hosted by War Resisters' International and our South Korean affiliate, 'World Without War'. The seminar took place in Seoul, South Korea, and brought together activists challenging war profiteering in its many guises, and demonstrated that an essential 'pillar of power' that makes the obscene violence of war inevitable is the ways in which huge companies are able to profit from its preparation, and its effects. Following two days of sharing campaign, research and direct action skills, we worked together to disrupt the preparations for the ADEX arms fair.

Outlining the geographical context we were to take action in, Wook-sik Cheong

explains the politics of the region, and the resistance to the construction of the naval base on Jeju Island by the US military. War profiteering relies on the complicity of national government's, and is equally reliant on backdoor deals and corruption – Andrew Feinstein, a former ANC Member of Parliament in South Africa and a world expert on the arms trade, writes on the power of the arms trade and the level of corruption within it.

Though the arms trade is an essential part of this story, such profiteering extends well beyond the sale of guns and bombs – giving a broad introduction to the theme, Jordi Calvo Rufanges writes from Spain, on the way war profiteering can be thought of as 'the neoliberal militarism', as an economic model in its own right. Exploring the inherently gendered dimensions of war profiteering, Jasmin



Activists paint banners in preparation for actions against the ADEX arms fair in Seoul

Nario-Galace from the Philippines explores the way patriarchy and male dominance has led to a specific understanding of 'security' and 'defence', the way a militarised understanding of security effects women, and the actions women peace activists have taken to deconstruct these narratives.

Writing from West Papua, Rosa Moiwend explores the links between colonialism, development and militarism, and the nonviolent grassroots resistance shown to huge mining projects, despite widespread repression. This is complemented by a piece from Lexys Rendón, who writes of the links between militarism and extractivism in Latin America, and the way that the commitment to extracting ever more natural resources from the earth is fuelling militarism in the region.

Finally, we have included some personal stories. The first is of a successful campaign to stop a shipment of tear gas from South Korea to Bahrain – one of the most concrete examples of how 'all it takes for evil to flourish is for good people to do nothing' but (to extend the metaphor) when we do take action, we can win! Additionally, three participants in the 'Stopping the War Business' seminar reflected on what they learned from travelling to Seoul and taking part in the event.

Andrew Dey



Activists from Germany, West Papua and South Korea disrupt the opening dinner of the ADEX arms fair

War profiteering: the neoliberal militarism

Jordi Calvo Rufanges

War profiteering is explained with the military economy cycle which is based - as is most sectors of the economy - on neoliberal logic, the free market, privatization and reduction of regulations. It causes attitudes strictly related to personal enrichment and maximizing the economic benefit in the defense industry, forming the so-called neoliberal militarism. Moreover war profiteering goes beyond arms and defense sector. War needs lots of resources, not only weapons and armies, also logistics, transport, food, cleaning, translation services and private security. There are also wars for greed, which is not only power but also resources: oil, coltan, diamonds and whatever can be bought and sold in a market. Economic profits are part of war and wars are also made for profit. Framework of war profiteering: the military economic cycle.

The military economic cycle responds to an economic view of defense economics, also referred to as the 'arms cycle'. In any case both names refer to the cycle that describes the route that weapons production takes, from the decision to take military public budget to cover the alleged need for weapons to their final use.

The real beginning of the cycle starts in the arguments and discourses that legitimize the need for arms and armies depending on the identification of threats to a country's security and defense to justify high levels of militarization and armaments. Thus, security doctrines developed by governments - directly influenced by research defense, security, conflict and peace centers, popularly known as think tanks - establish a certain level of armaments and militarization development of a given society.

Besides the occasional or permanent influence of think tanks on the policies of a country, the need to maintain armed forces depends on the culture of defense, militarized education, military and arms history and tradition, and tolerance for weapons in a society. We also have to consider the role of civil society and the fact that social movements may also determine levels of armaments and militarism.

The assumption of the need for maintaining armed forces opens the way to a political decision strictly related to the military or arms economic cycle, decisions on the military budget that appoints certain measures to objectives of discourses, doctrines and other views on the defense needs of a country. Military spending includes research and development (military R&D) of new weapons and their production in the



An arms dealer at the DSEi arms fair, September 2015. Source: www.caat.org.uk

defense industry, which is financed partly by public budget. Hence, when it comes to military spending, military R&D, companies and military industries and arms purchases, we have to pay attention not only to the defense budgets of the states, but also to budgets of other ministries such as industry. Together they finance the whole military business cycle. The other elements that form a part of the cycle are the arms trade, which also includes financial institutions that hold the entire cycle, as well as shareholders of military enterprises that finance the industry operations and the arms trade.

The active role of the military-industrial complex in war profiteering

The "military-industrial complex" term came into use in Eisenhower's farewell speech as US president in 1961. He used this term to refer to the lobbyists with the most influence in the White House. The so-called military-industrial complex is made up of the set of people and business and political organizations, including senior military officers of the departments or ministries of defense, who have the desire to influence decisions on military policy, including armaments purchases.

A number of companies as well as many people including politicians and government departments related to military enterprises are involved in this so-called military-industrial complex, that can range from the defense industry to Interior, and Foreign Trade. On the level of administration, they form a part of the military-industrial complex, the high

command of the armed forces, many of which have close ties to the arms industry and apply pressure to observe an increase in their weapons and equipment arsenals and thus, the ability to influence national and international policy. When it comes to the role of political office that has some defense responsibilities, a member of the armed forces or the military industry executive (sometimes being the same person), the revolving door phenomenon occurs in the defense sector.

The military economic cycle can generate political and economic dynamics that put a country and economy in an ideal state for those who take advantage of this cycle in which defense economics converts into a permanent economy of war. It's important to analyze it to understand the military economic cycle as such: military spending, arms industries, exports and financing. Companies and individuals who are active in the military economic cycle comprise the military-industrial complex, which profits the most from war.

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Corruption and the arms trade

Andrew Feinstein

The global trade in arms is a business that counts its profits in billions and its costs in human lives. It is arguably the most damaging of all trades, accounting for around 40% of all corruption. It has massive influence on the way our governments operate, ensuring that war is a preferred option to diplomacy, and that we spend billions of dollars every year on weapons we often don't need. It perpetuates, makes more deadly and sometimes even causes conflict and repression.

Global military expenditure is estimated to have totalled \$1.77 trillion in 2014, that is more than \$250 for every person on the planet. This was a fall of 0.4% on the previous year and is about 2.3% of global GDP.

Military spending in Asia and Oceania increased by 5 per cent in 2014 and by 62 per cent between 2005 and 2014, reaching \$439 billion in 2014. China's spending is second in the world, only to the US, which accounts for almost half of all global military spending. South Korea is the 10th largest military spender in the world, having increased its spending by 2.6% from 2013. Japan is 9th.

Even during the global financial crisis from 2007 to 2012, weapons spending increased by 24%. Arguably, Greece was pushed over the fiscal cliff by two multi-billion dollar, corrupt deals with Germany.

The small arms trade is worth at least \$8.5bn a year. But its deadly impact is far greater than the sum suggests. Across the world, it is estimated that every year about 526,000 violent deaths occur through warfare and murders. The majority of these deaths are caused by small arms.

While obviously an important dimension of national defence, a tool of foreign policy and a contributor (albeit overstated) to the economy, the arms trade, big and small, has additional profound impacts on the world: from the enabling, fuelling and perpetuation of conflict & repression, to the corrosion of democracy.

Arms deals, stretch across a continuum of legality and ethics from the official, or formal trade, to the grey and black markets, what I refer to as the Shadow World.

In practice, the boundaries between the three markets are fuzzy. they are often intertwined and dependent on each other. With bribery and

corruption commonplace, there are very few arms transactions that do not involve illegality, most often through middlemen or agents. Many arms dealers who provide services to large defense companies and governments, continue to operate in the black and grey markets.

Joe Roeber calculated that the trade in weapons accounts for almost 40% of all corruption in all global trade. The US Department of Commerce, in a study of 5 years of corrupt transactions involving US businesses, found that half were in the defence sector.

Why is the arms trade so susceptible to corruption?

Roeber argues that the arms trade is hard-wired for corruption. The very structure of the trade explains the prevalence and nature of the corruption that characterises it. You have contracts worth a vast amount, being decided on by a very small number of people behind a national security imposed veil of secrecy; these are perfect conditions for rampant corruption.

The consequences of this corruption, and the efforts to conceal them, include the corrosion of democratic institutions and the rule of law in buying and selling countries, greater instability in fragile states, massive opportunity costs especially in relation to socio-economic development and sometimes an undermining of the very national security that the deals are supposed to bolster.

Those involved in the trade wield enormous political influence through the phenomenon of the revolving door: the movement of people between positions in government, politics, the military, intelligence agencies and defence

companies. The consequences of this are a distortion of policy making - not just in the ascendancy of war-making over diplomacy, but also in foreign and economic policy decisions. A crucial dimension of these arrangements is the link between defence companies, arms dealers and political parties: the trade plays a crucial role in party political funding.

This national security elite wields enormous power while they are enriching themselves, and operate in something of a parallel legal universe, as they seldom face the legal consequences of their often illegal actions. By way of example, of the 502 violations of UN arms embargoes that we recorded, two resulted in legal action, one in a conviction.

I experienced this industry at first hand in South Africa where the nascent democracy was profoundly undermined by a \$10bn arms deal, in which \$300m of bribes were paid to senior politicians, officials and my own political party, the ANC.

Asia has suffered greatly at the hands of the arms trade, as victim and perpetrator. Wars have been fought on the continent to ensure that the producing countries of the Global North are never short of demand for more and more weapons. While internally, most Asian countries have seen authoritarianism, military rule and, even in democracies, crony capitalism, all helping the domestic weapons industries to flourish, as arms were bought way beyond the needs of the purchasing countries.

The US spends almost as much on

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defence as the rest of the world combined. Its weapons business is built on a circle of patronage between defense companies, lobbyists, lawmakers, the White House and the Pentagon (where 84% of retiring senior officers in 2010 went into senior executive positions with the very companies to whom they had awarded contracts during their careers).

This system of legal bribery has numerous

deleterious consequences: perpetual war, coups, and other undermining of client countries, as well as massively wasteful spending at home. This is evidenced in the F35, a fighter jet that will cost the American taxpayer near enough a trillion dollars but is irrelevant to the sorts of the conflicts the US is currently engaged in and is likely to be involved in for generations to come.

Another example is the political pressure exerted on South Korea to buy American in the early 2000s. The country spent \$4.5 billion dollars on an American plane that was more expensive and less able than rivals, but America made clear that South Korea would be deprived of American political support and prevented from accessing a range of military technologies. Worse though is the way in which the US continues to ferment antagonism and conflict in the region, to the benefit of its own global position and the well-being of the military industrial complex.

European arms makers are no better. The German company Ferrostal paid over €1.1bn in bribes in 16 different countries, including over €42m to an agent in South Korea who had previous convictions for bribery and was known to have close connections to senior politicians in the country.

In the past few years the South Korea defence industry has moved its focus from its own domestic needs to exporting, particularly to the region. The country's exports have risen from \$144m in 2002 to \$3.6bn in 2014, with an average annual gain of 31% over the past five years. The impact of this growth, fuelled by technological co-operation with the US, is both destabilisation of the region and the further entrenchment of a militarist mind-set. South Korea has also sold weapons



The obscenely expensive F-35 fighter jet. Photo: wikipedia

to conflict-ravaged Iraq, troubled Indonesia, belligerent Turkey and human-rights-abusing Azerbaijan, to name but a few.

Crucially, the sale of weapons inevitably leads to “blowback” – the phenomenon of weapons being turned on those who provide them – in a vicious cycle of ever more weapons and growing conflict. The space for peace gets ever smaller, as the profits for the weapons-makers get ever larger.

The trade in weapons is astonishingly under-regulated, because there is no political will to control it. It is up to us to make the biggest arms dealers of all, our political leaders, change their ways, through boycotts both political and economic, protests and direct action. Because if we simply accept the status quo as unchangeable, the trade in arms will continue to make the world a poorer place, a less democratic place, a more corrupt place, and a more dangerous place.

Andrew Feinstein is the author of “The Shadow World: Inside the Global Arms Trade” A film based on the book will be released in early 2016. A former ANC Member of Parliament in South Africa, Andrew is currently Executive Director of Corruption Watch UK in London.



Photos from the Stopping the War Business seminar, training and action



International campaign halts South Korean arms exports

Emily Masters, originally printed in 'Peace News'

After a four-month campaign, the international Stop the Shipment campaign succeeded in stopping a shipment of over a million canisters of tear gas to Bahrain on 8 January. The government of Bahrain has been using tear gas to repress pro-democracy demonstrations since the Arab Spring spread to the Gulf state in February 2011.

A Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) report in 2012 found that 'Bahraini law enforcement officials routinely violate every UN principle' in their 'unusually relentless and indiscriminate campaign... weaponizing toxic chemical agents – so-called tear gas'.

According to PHR, 34 Bahrainis died of tear gas and related complications between March 2011 and March 2012, and a further five people died after having tear gas canisters fired at their heads or necks. It is not known how many people have died as a result of tear gas in the last two years.

More gas than people

In October, the US-based monitoring group Bahrain Watch leaked a tender document from Bahrain's ministry of interior showing the government's intent to purchase 1.6 million canisters of tear gas. Bahrain has a population of about 1.3 million.

'When we saw this document, we knew we had to act, and find and prevent the shipment, from wherever it was coming from,' said Bill Marczak, a co-founder of Bahrain Watch.

The revelation sparked a four-month campaign, run in conjunction with UK-based Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT), as well as Americans for Democracy and Human Rights in Bahrain.

'We looked at Bahrain's main tear gas suppliers at the time, which were a South African company and this Korean company, Dae Kwang Chemical Corporation,' said Marczak. The South Korean company would become the main contender in the deal and the campaign.

Within days of starting, Stop the Shipment launched a website to enable people 'to express their discontent,' Marczak said. Andrew Smith, the media coordinator for CAAT, added that the multimedia campaign was successful in uniting an international campaign.

The site allowed users to send pre-written emails and faxes to, reach on social media, or make international phone calls to over 20 South Korean and South African officials and arms manufacturers.

Almost 395,000 emails were sent and about 50 calls were made.

'[The number of calls] may not seem like a lot but it is quite significant when you view it in the context of someone in the Korean export licencing agency getting a call from someone in Bahrain,' Marczak said.

To export a shipment of arms, a South Korean company must seek an export licence from the defence acquisition program. DAPA takes into account international relations, consulting with the ministry of foreign affairs, before awarding licences and has in the past allowed shipments. Stop the Shipment tried to put as much pressure as possible on both agencies during the campaign, according to Marczak.

'The way [the shipment] was stopped in the end was that the DAPA came out with a statement saying: "We received two requests from two different Korean companies to export tear gas to Bahrain and we decided to not grant them the licence",' Marczak said. The other company's name is not yet known.

Beyond the website, the Stop the Shipment campaign included a direct action component. Korean NGOs staged protests outside the exporting agency while CAAT held protests outside the Korean embassy in London.

'The idea was to create something big and visual,' Smith said. 'The arms trade does not like to be confronted in public.' The campaign also worked with international organisations such as Amnesty International to raise global awareness.

'The goal... was to capitalise on Korea increasingly finding its footing on the world stage. As such, the government is concerned with Korea's international prestige and reputation,' Marczak said. Stop the Shipment brought media attention to the fact that Dae Kwang company had already supplied millions of tear gas canisters and planned to send more to Bahrain, Turkey and other countries experiencing protests.

'Korea can't claim to talk about human rights while it's got this company which is basically a one stop shop for repressive governments,' Marczak said.

Tactical moves

Originally, the Bahraini government relied on its military forces, armoured vehicles and assault rifles to put down protests, Marczak said. Over time, however, Bahrain switched to utilising its police force, using tear gas and birdshot to quell protests.

'It is much harder to defend your suppression of protests if you've got

armoured vehicles and tanks on the streets, because that's a very clear picture,' Marczak said. 'But if you've got police firing tear gas, it is very easy to say, 'Well, we are using non-lethal weapons. There are a few accidents where protestors get killed but... we are doing the best we can to balance freedom of expression with security.' It just allows the government to push its crackdown under the rug, in the sense of people not paying as much attention because it is not as graphic.'

After a month of campaigning, Stop the Shipment added a legal component to their plan, filing complaints against Dae Kwang through the organisation for economic co-operation and development (OECD).

In December, they filed complaints with five UN special rapporteurs, 'arguing that the Bahrain Government's use of tear gas violates the freedoms of association, expression, and movement, and constitutes systematic repression that amounts to degrading and inhuman treatment, and collective punishment,' according to a CAAT press release.

Marczak thinks the campaign's success was due to multiple elements pressuring the South Korean government in different ways. He added: 'And I think legal complaints was a great next step, because it really drove the message home that this was a professional campaign.'

Countries that currently ship arms of any kind to Bahrain include the UK, US, France, Spain, Belgium, Brazil, Germany, and Switzerland. The US, France and Spain have just suspended their supply of chemical irritants, according to an 8 January Amnesty International press release.

'Since the Arab Spring in 2011, the UK has licenced over £30 million-worth of exports [to Bahrain],' Smith said. These shipments included assault rifles, pistols and machine guns. Prince Andrew travelled to Bahrain at the end of January 2014 for Great Britain Week to attend a large arms trade show.

'The reason why Bahrain wants to deal with the UK is because the UK does have a lot of international influence and they want our respectability and [the] endorsement that comes with dealing with the UK,' Smith said. 'The argument we make [is that] in dealing with the dictatorship in Bahrain, we are giving them more legitimacy.' With the campaign completed, CAAT and Bahrain Watch plan to continue working to stop other weapons shipments to Bahrain and around the world.



Resisting Colonialism and Development Aggression in West Papua

Rosa Moiwend

A former Dutch colony, West Papua was occupied by the Indonesian military in 1963. The international framework that allowed this occupation to take place was based on the economic and political interests of the United States and supported by its allies the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Australia. The United Nations actively denied West Papuans right to self-determination and supported the Indonesian occupation. During the first few years of the Indonesian government's occupation West Papuan resistance was brutally crushed through military operations and aerial bombardment. Two years before the United Nations formally facilitated the transfer of Dutch sovereignty to Indonesia – all without West Papuans consent – the United States and Indonesia established a massive gold and copper mine in West Papua. From the beginning the Freeport mine was declared a national asset and security project protected by a massive Indonesian military presence. Old fashioned colonialism marked by territorial occupation by a foreign military force remained but was augmented by neo-colonialism: intensive capital investment in the extractive industries and the influx of large numbers of Indonesians to displace indigenous West Papuans. In the early years the Indonesian government's transmigration program was funded by the World Bank. Although on paper the project was designed as development to benefit 'the poor' in reality the Indonesian government's sole objective was to protect its territorial integrity. It was militarised development that in actual fact generated poverty.

Along the Papua New Guinean border from Arso in the north to Sota in the South indigenous Papuans were displaced by large-scale logging which then gave way to palm oil. In the northern region of Keerom, for example, indigenous Papuans went from being 100% of the population to 40%. The border was also secured by military bases and the insertion of Indonesian military personnel into every level of society including the most remote village. Colonial occupation and neo-colonial investment and transmigration was supported by a range

of political policies, most recently UP4B (the Unit for the Acceleration of Development) and MP3EI (Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia's Economic Development). In the South of West Papua foreign companies, including Korean companies, were invited to participate in MIFEE, the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate, a massive 1.2 million hectare land grab, that will displace tens of thousands of Indigenous West Papuans who have lived on their land since time immemorial. All of these companies have connections



The Freeport mine in West Papua. Photo: wikipedia

with Indonesian military officers.

West Papuan resistance to colonialism, neo-colonialism and militarism existed since the beginning of the occupation, whether we are talking about Dutch or Indonesian rule. Defending customary land is the foundation of a larger resistance movement for self-determination. Since 1998 that resistance has been overwhelmingly through nonviolent means. In the south of West Papua where the MIFEE project is being established the indigenous Malind Anim people have occupied the offices of companies trying to access their land. Members of the Malind Anim, for instance, blocked the road, turning company access roads into food gardens. These daily streams of small everyday acts of resistance are in the process of converging into a raging river of political dissent.

In the wider political movement resistance has been growing. In 2014 the three largest resistance groups came together to form an umbrella organisation: the United Liberation Movement for West Papua. The ULMWP's first campaign goal was to seek membership of the Melanesian Spearhead Group, an

important sub-regional forum with status at the United Nations. Inside West Papua over 500 people were arrested, scores tortured and one person was killed. The centrepiece of this campaign was a paper petition signed by over 55,000 people. Outside the country – in the Melanesian nations of Fiji, Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands in particular – massive mobilisation compelled governments to support the West Papuan cause. As a result, the ULMWP gained observer status at the MSG. This effectively creates a permanent forum for political negotiations with Indonesia. Colonialism, development and militarism show no sign of abating in West Papua but the West Papuans are more determined than ever before to continue their struggle for freedom, dignity and the right to self-determination.

Gender, defence and war profiteering

Jasmin Nario-Galace

In 2014, according to the IHS Global Defence Trade Report, global defence trade increased to \$64.4 billion, up from \$56.8 billion the previous year. The report underscored that the US supplied one-third of all exports followed by the Russian Federation, France, UK and Germany. Seven of the top 10 defence importers were from Asia-Pacific: India, China, Taiwan, Australia, South Korea, Indonesia and Pakistan. The top 5 company exporters are Boeing, Lockheed Martin, Raytheon, Airbus Group and UAC. The first three are US companies while the last two have headquarters in France and Russia, respectively¹.

SIPRI reported that global military expenditures in 2014 reached US\$1776 billion with China, India, Japan, South Korea and Australia on the Top 15 of countries with the highest military expenditures². While countries beef up their defence systems to “protect” their people, their territorial integrity and national sovereignty against internal and external threats, those who profit from the huge spending on defence and military and from wars, in general, make tons of money.

Huge military and defence spending has many costs. The defence trade, profitable for a few, engenders, fuels and sustains armed conflicts. The IISS reported that there were 42 active armed conflicts in 2014 with 180,000 fatalities³.

The traditional notion of defence presupposes that there is always danger, threat or attack. The meaning of defence has been constructed in a way that has led governments and non-state actors to build up their weapon arsenals and prepare for counter-attack. Defence has become synonymous with violence and militarism.

This notion of defence has gendered implications. Defence has become male territory supporting gendered power of men against women. This notion of defence has fuelled, sustained and exacerbated armed conflicts where rape is used as a tactic of war. Such notion has led to displacement where, “women and girls comprise about half of any refugee, internally displaced or stateless population”, according to UNHCR. Women camping out in evacuation centres suffer from a lack of health-related services making lives doubly miserable for those who are pregnant, menstruating or lactating. Reports of sexual harassment are also high in evacuation camps.

Indeed, the notion of defence which militarises society puts women at more risk, making war profiteering and gender-

based violence a vicious cycle. Additionally, women who feel unsafe begin to arm themselves against male violence, further beefing up arms sales.

This traditional notion of defence - masculine and reinforcing of patriarchy - has led to excessive global military spending which impacts on the ability of governments to deliver basic social services such as health, livelihood and education especially for women; thereby reducing further, the chance for gender equality.

But women, in history, have not just been watching as war profiteers laugh their way to the bank. Women peace activists have always questioned the dominant security paradigm that invests money in the military-industrial complex rather than on services that will support human development.

Women have been in the forefront of campaigns against the institutionalisation and glamorisation of violence. They have been in the forefront of campaigns for the enactment of treaties in the global level and laws in the local levels that will help prevent sex and gender-based violence. They have been in the forefront of efforts to educate for peace so that the future generations may know that war solves nothing, and that there are nonviolent solutions to the conflicts that confront the community of nations and communities within nations. Women are at the forefront of efforts at disarmament and arms control knowing that the proliferation of weapons can trigger violence that will put them, their loved ones and their communities at risk. They have been in the forefront of campaigns to cut military expenditures and calls to divert these resources to development, aware that armed conflicts are often caused by poverty and injustice. They have been working in communities to prevent and mediate in conflicts, as well as in addressing their root causes.

And they are at the forefront of efforts to go beyond women, understanding that men have a stake in challenging militarisation where they are major actors and victims.

They do all these, because they cannot reconcile how weaponization can bring security, as war profiteers proclaim. The security they know is anchored in the ability of people to resolve their conflicts constructively and nonviolently; in the ability of their government to deliver services that will guarantee their rights and well-being. Despite the odds, they will persist in using their agency to get to peace and human security.

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Miriam College in the Philippines. She is National Coordinator of the Women Engaged in Action on 1325 and President of Pax Christi-Pilipinas.. She is a member of the Women Peacemakers' Program-Asia and is in the Steering Committee of the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders.

¹ IHS Newsroom. Saudi Arabia Replaces India as Largest Defence Market for US, IHS Study Says. (March 7, 2015). Retrieved September 19, 2015, from <http://press.ihs.com/press-release/aerospace-defense-terrorism/saudi-arabia-replaces-india-largest-defence-market-us-ihs>

² Sam Perlo-Freeman, Aude Fleurant, Pieter D. Wezeman and Siemon T. Trends in world military expenditure, 2014. Retrieved September 19, 2015 from http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=496

³ IISS. Armed Conflict Survey 2015 Press Statement. (May 19, 2015). Retrieved September 19, 2015 from <https://www.iiss.org/en/about%20us/press%20room/press%20releases/press%20releases/archive/2015-4fe9/may-6219/armed-conflict-survey-2015-press-statement-a0be>

The relation between militarisation and extractive industries. A view from Latin America

Lexys Rendon

Between 2003 and 2013 - while the rest of the world experienced a wave of economic crises - Latin America showed good economic indicators. The continent benefited from the "boom of price in raw materials"; historically, the region's main export products are energy resources like oil, gas, coal and other minerals, and this continues today. In 2011, for example, 13 of the 20 biggest companies in Latin America belonged to the oil, gas, mining and iron and steel sectors. The money that entered the region managed to reduce poverty; in 2012, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) affirmed that the continent showed the lowest percentage of poverty (28.8% of total population) in the last 30 years.

However, the high economic incomes were not only destined to reduce levels of extreme poverty, they were also intended to modernise the armed forces of Latin American countries by a significant increase in arms purchases. In a study carried out by Peace Laboratory, based on figures from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) it was revealed that Latin America had increased its weapons purchases by 150%, spending \$13.624 million between 2000 to 2010. Military spending worldwide in 2012 reached \$1.7 billion, or 2.5% of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In Latin America, defence spending was about 4% of its total GDP, above the world average.

extractive companies, which is supported by both "left" and "right" governments, and the increased militarisation of the territories where this takes place. On this, the researcher and Uruguayan journalist Raúl Zibechi said: "There is not extractivism without militarisation of society... This is not to be a mistake, militarisation is part of pattern. There is not surface mining, mega mining without militarism. One cannot see it in the city where you live, if you live in the city, but if it comes a little you will see an increasingly militarised environment."

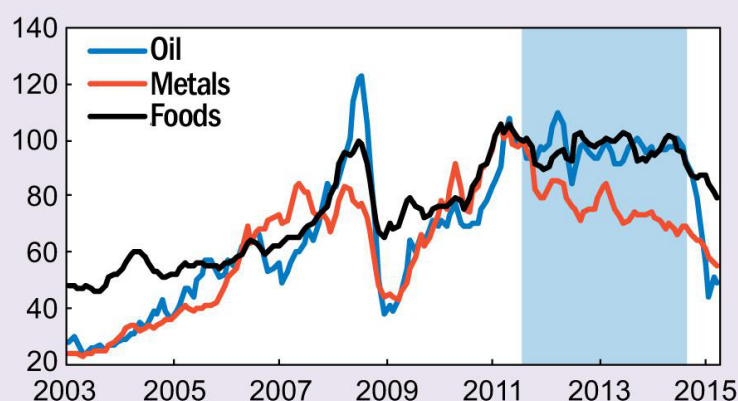
We understand "militarisation" not only as the physical presence of members of the armed forces in a determined territory, but also as the growing influence of the values of the military in society. If we qualify the period between 2003 and 2013 in Latin America as "the extractive decade", we can say that after those 10 years the region has become much more militarised. This is clear not only in the

high budgets for the operation of the armed forces and the increase in the purchase of weapons, but also in a process of criminalisation of peaceful protest of social movements, popular leaders and indigenous communities that drives it, which has become common practice in several countries. This process of criminalisation includes the reform, the creation and the current proposals

of laws that establish as offences historical strategies of struggle in Latin American by popular movements, such as strikes, street closures or the use of

masks or hoods by protesters. Latin American governments of different ideologies like Chile, Argentina, Venezuela and Ecuador, have adopted antiterrorism laws influenced by the

Latin America: Prices of raw materials



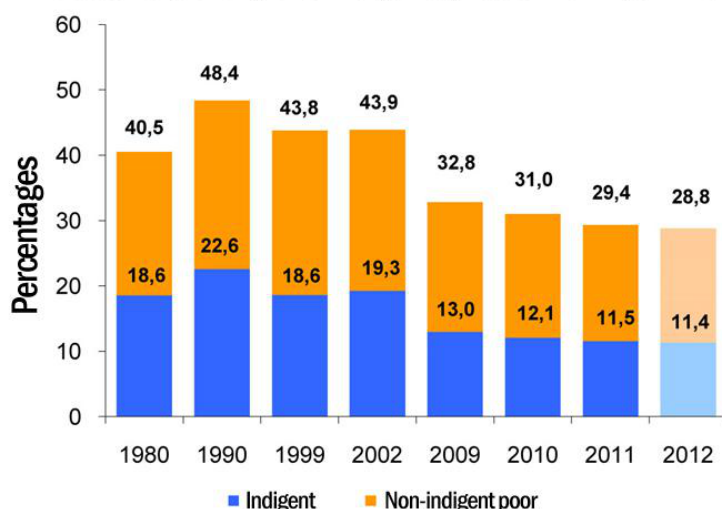
Source: International Monetary Fund (IMF)

reaction to the September 11th attacks in the United States, and the militaristic and Manichean vision by which the government of George W. Bush faced the collapse of the Twin Towers of New York. They declare - "preemptively" - all those who exercise acts contrary to the supreme interests of the State and the Nation as internal and external enemies.

In contrast, when the reasons for which the Latin American populations are mobilizing for their rights, we find that they are indigenous and peasant communities that are leading the protests against mega-mining projects in militarized territories. Extractivism and militarism have generated broad social resistance throughout the continent. According to the Latin American Observatory of Environmental Conflicts in Peru, during 2012 there were 184 active regional conflicts, five of them cross-border, involving 253 effected communities. Some of the main demands of the movement have to do with the land in which they live; demarcation and delivery of territories to indigenous communities, the right to be consulted before making energy extraction projects, the realization and dissemination of environmental impact studies, and the mobilization against soil contamination, water and air as a result of mining and extractive activity. Today many indigenous and peasant leaders, as well as human rights defenders, have been arrested for participating in demonstrations, and are being subjected to trials in courts that do not guarantee an independent judiciary. Some protesters

Continued on page 11...

Latin America: Evolution of poverty and indigence, 1980-2012 (CEPAL)



In turn, there is a clear relationship between the growth of a primary economy exporter based on the intensification of



The Yanacocha gold mine in Peru. Photo: Golda Fuentes, used under CC 2.0

...continued from page 10

have been killed by the police or military forces, and their deaths remain unpunished.

In Latin America the challenges for antimilitarists are manifold. One of them is to continue to investigate and make visible the links between extractivism as a hegemonic development model after the eclipse of neoliberalism in the region, and

the militarisation of bodies and territories. These points are not always clear for activists or for society itself.

Secondly we believe that comprehensive antimilitarism - which proposes a society whose operation is based on values other than militarism - can provide a view that, from another location, perform analysis and proposals to overcome the limitations of ideological debate between the "left" and "right". These are categories we now

know match, at least in the Latin American case, the cult of the army, consider 'difference' as a threat or an enemy, and the use of force and the state monopoly on the use of weapons as methods for conflict resolution.

Then there is our accumulated experience in the use of nonviolent direct action as a promoter of cultural, social and political change in society. Because the history of Latin America, and the leaders of national liberation movements that used armed struggle to challenge the different colonialisms, social movements in the region continue to refer to the guerrillas or militaristic leaders like Che Guevara or Simon Bolivar. Part of the strategy of criminalisation by states is to hinder democratic and peaceful means of protest, so that the protesters resort to violent methods, which the state can then use to make a campaign of criminalisation precisely because the "violent" nature of "terrorist" protesters, which ends up isolating and fragmenting the movement itself. Antimilitarists can and should accompany these legitimate movements, the grassroots, the struggle for land, the environment, by areas of participation and enjoyment of human rights by trying to contribute in expanding the range of possibilities for real change through nonviolence.

Callout for Broken Rifle 105: Climate change and antimilitarism

For the first time, WRI's magazine The Broken Rifle will focus on climate change and antimilitarism, looking at the links between environmental and peace movements, the connections between our analyses of control, exploitation and power, and the links between seemingly 'single issue' social movements.

Amongst other things, we would like to hear from people who would like to write on the following topics:

- System change not climate change: capitalism & militarism
- Power and influence in the mobilisation and messaging of environmentalist social movements
- Climate change and migration: how the military is responding already to environmental refugees
- Ecofeminism: subjugating

women and the earth, linking capitalism and systemic violence

- Constructive programmes and positive stories!
- How conflict in Syria is connected to environmental issues

• A critical reflection on movements organising for climate justice

• COP21 is a peace conference - reflections on COP21

• A review of The Secure and the Dispossessed: How the Military and Corporations Are Shaping a Climate-Changed World

• Anything else you think is relevant!

Authors writing from outside of the global North are especially invited to respond. The above list is just ideas - please suggest anything else you think is relevant.

Please write with your ideas and suggestions to info@wri-irg.org, preferably by the end of January. We would need the final articles by 15 March, and are looking for short pieces of 800-1200 word.



Activists in Paris occupy a street and mark the 'red lines' of climate change we can't cross. Photo: Jan Zuppinger, CC2.0

North East Asia-Geopolitics, Arms Race and Jeju Naval Base in the Middle

Wook-sik Cheong

How can North East Asia best be defined geopolitically? Geographically one can say North East Asia includes North Korea, South Korea, Japan, all of territorial China and a part of the Russian territory. The de facto state of Taiwan occupies a very strategic and important place geopolitically. Although geographically not located in the region one cannot exclude the United States, a country that exercises the greatest influence and the most powerful state actor geopolitically in the region.

The Korean peninsula occupies a particularly important place geopolitically in North East Asia. Over the past centuries there has been a series of wars including the Imjin War (the Japanese Invasion of Korea in 1592) and the Manchu War of 1636, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 towards the latter period of the Choson Dynasty, the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905, and the colonization of the Korean peninsula by Japan followed by the division of the peninsula, the Korean War and subsequent armistice. Geopolitically, the Korean peninsula has increasingly become a highly sensitive region. If maritime powers such as Japan and the United States continue to expand, territorial powers such as China and Russia will seek to use the Korean peninsula as a buffer zone to check this expansion. On the other hand if territorial powers continue their expansion then Japan and the United States would be very wary of the threat of territorial powers using the peninsula to exert force against Japan.

It's no exaggeration to say that this geopolitical scenario is the tragic consequence of the division of the peninsula and the ensuing war and truce. The ongoing tragedy continues to be played out with no perceivable end in sight.

Geopolitical sensitivity has triggered growing militarization which in turn has created the vicious cycle of igniting further geopolitical tensions. This militarization manifests itself in two ways. One is the increase in military spending by all state actors in the region. The military budgets of all parties to the 6 Party Talks which include North and South Korea, USA, China, Russia and Japan comprise 70% of the world's total military spending. Secondly are the alliances. The United States seeks to strengthen its separate alliances, the ROK-US alliance and its USA-Japan alliance while seeking to forge a ROK-Japan military relationship in order to build a triangular alliance. To

counter this China and Russia have entered into a de facto alliance themselves. To make matters worse is the construction of the Jeju naval base. The naval base is due for completion at the end of 2015.

The South Korean navy says that the naval base will serve as a homeport for its strategic maneuver fleet. The United States has stated that the base will serve as its port of call. The Island was designated a 'peace island' by the state and despite opposition and serious concerns raised by Gangjeong villagers, considerable numbers of citizens and International civil society the state has proceeded with its plan to militarize the island of Jeju.

What needs to be considered here is the fact that the naval base when complete and comes into operation will only serve to increase geopolitical tensions and not lessen them. In terms of the ROK-US alliance Jeju may provide a 'strategic location' but from China's vantage point it can only be viewed as a 'strategic threat'. The Jeju sea occupy the heartbeat of Chinese political and economic life and is key to its national security as its location represent the gateway to the Yellow Sea. In addition China and Japan are engaged in a territorial dispute over a group of islands in the East China Sea, known as Senkaku Islands to the Japanese and Diaoyu to the Chinese. The Taiwan Strait serves as an intermediate base that can restrain China's North Sea Fleet and the East Sea Fleet.

In this context the location of the Jeju Naval Base could carry the potential risk of a competitive collision between the United States and China. China is seeking to prevent the United States and its allies from intervening or projecting power on its coastline, within the first island chain which stretches from Kuril Islands and Japan through Okinawa and Taiwan to the Philippines and onward to the Strait of Malacca. China's Anti-Access/Area-Denial: A2/AD strategy is to be viewed in this context. As China seeks to prevent the United States and its allies from projecting power within this first island chain they also hope to extend this line of defense by connecting the territories of Ogasawara, Guam, Saipan and Papua New Guinea and create a 'second line of defense'.

However, China's strategy coupled with the rebalancing of the United States military strategy in the region has dangerously placed the two powers on a collision course. The United States have prioritized the Asia Pacific region and have decided to concentrate 60% of its

naval power there. China's insistence on its first island chain line of defense is being breached by an increase in US base expansion and increasing numbers of ports of call. In countries of Southeast Asia such as Vietnam, Singapore and the Philippines etc. the United States have either negotiated new agreements or revived existing agreements sharply increasing its number of bases. The X-band radar has been deployed to southern Kyoto and despite strong opposition from residents in Okinawa the base construction at Henoko is being enforced. The strategy for Guam is continued base expansion.

The problem lies in the fact that the Jeju Naval Base is akin to oil being poured on the flames of the United States-Chinese hegemonic rivalry. Firstly, the Jeju Naval Base happens to be located within its first line of defense which represents the entry and exit points into the heart China's area of influence and the gateway to the core of its naval strategy. Despite being fully cognizant of this the United States has said it will utilize the Jeju Naval Base as a port of call. Together with the Pyeongtaek US base (Camp Humphreys), the Osan Air base, Kunsan Air Force Base, the Jeju Naval Base represents another card it holds in which it can use to keep China in check.

I am not alone in pointing this out. Commander David J. Suchyta of the US Navy states the following in his 2013 strategy research project 'Jeju Naval Base: Strategic Implications for Northeast Asia':

"The 'Jeju Naval Base' could also support Japan in a conflict with China over the Senkaku Islands. Together, the Yellow and East China Seas form approximately 70% of China's eastern seaboard. During a conflict in the Taiwan Strait, Jeju-based U.S. ships, submarines and aircraft could easily intercept North Sea Fleet units heading south and harass the flank of the East Sea Fleet"

Suchyta in his analysis makes the following assertion that "Jeju Naval Base could offer great utility to the U.S." and "China on the other hand is much more likely to view Jeju as a threat". He states that it's in the United States best interest to remain quiet about the naval base lest it causes China to overreact. "If mishandled, (one can derive from this the stated public intention of the United States to use the base) the base could provoke China to upgrade its strategic deterrent, sparking a regional arms race."

However, the silence was soon shattered
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when Rear Admiral Lisa Franchetti, commander of the US Naval Forces Korea from Sept. 2013 until June 2015 said at a group interview following a change of command ceremony on August 5th that "the U.S Navy 7th Fleet really likes to send ships to port visit here in South Korea and any port we are able to bring our ships to, we will take advantage of that for great (navigation) liberty and great training".

I have been convinced for a long time that with naval base construction been pushed through; rather it being perceived as a strategic asset for the Republic of Korea the base would instead represent a major burden. However the South Korean government and conservative media have all along rejected claims that suggest the base is a threat to China and have stated that there is 'no evidence' or grounds for concern that the base could undermine ROK-China relations and threaten peace and security in East Asia. Commander Suchyta from his report would seem to concur with the above claims. All along many people have expressed concerns about the United States having access to and utility of the port upon completion. Outgoing Rear Admiral Lisa Franchetti has recently publicly revealed the desire of the United States to utilize the naval base as a port of call. Sadly, it seems rather late to justify opposition to the base at this stage.

Translation: Patrick Cunningham

Reflections from 'Stopping the War Business' seminar

At the end of the Stopping the War Business international seminar, three participants shared their reflections from the meeting. Here they are below.

Tuuli Vuori

Tuuli taking action against the ADEX arms fair
Tuuli taking action against the ADEX arms fair
It's good to be in South Korea. I'm from a country which still maintains conscription and I've used half of my life working with issues related to conscientious objection. That is one reason why it feels so special to be in Seoul, as I've heard so much about the campaigns that our South Korean friends have been doing here.

Anyway, war profiteering is not the strongest area of my knowledge so I've learned a lot during this seminar. Thanks for the really interesting keynote speakers as well as workshops!

In this seminar we discussed about the

consequences of war profiteering for the individual people. We also discussed about the vast and dark structures of the war profiteering. Sometimes these structures make me feel very small.

But we have also talked about all the possibilities to take down war profiteers! On the first day of the seminar Tara Tabassi spoke about campaigning against Urban Shield and Sarah Reader and Sarah Waldron from Britain gave a workshop on campaigning against arms fairs. These are some of the moments that we can use as week spots to disturb war profiteering.

One thing that really struck me during the seminar was the feeling of internationality. We, antimilitarist activists from many continents, had come together to share experiences of a struggle against war profiteering, to share inspiration and skills. And we did more than that: we shared connections and thoughts on how to make the movement stronger by taking our campaigns to an even more international level.

I was asked to tell what I'll take home from here. To conclude, the list is simple: I will take home a little bit wider understanding, ideas for common action, solidarity, and – once again – hope. Let's be creative in our resistance and solidarity work

Denma

South Korea has the world's 10th biggest military expenditure and is the 9th biggest importer of weapons. World Without War have been thinking for a long time about how we can work effectively against the war business in a situation like Korea where the arms trade is one of the major industries. The international seminar on war profiteering was meaningful in that we could explore effective ways to challenge those businesses together. The seminar was participatory rather than



Tuuli participates in the protest against the ADEX arms fair in South Korea. Photo: WRI

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just a panel discussion, which is to be lauded. Sometimes we became rather serious - and understandably so, when we realized just how big the war business is - but then again we managed a smile especially when we took to the floor with the protest dance from the campaign against the naval base in Gangjeong village, Jeju Island. I learned many new things. I could understand more about the current situation on arms trade worldwide, who profit from wars, and the struggle all around the world against greed in its myriad forms.

Jordi from Spain told us how capitalism and militarism help grow and feed off of each other. Lexys from Venezuela added an 'environmental perspective' to that. In Korea the military's needs always supersede and win out over environmental concerns. The new naval base on Jeju Island is a clear example of this. 'Militarization of the police' that Tara from the US presented was also very interesting. I was unaware of there being an exhibition for police equipment and their expo was uncannily similar to the military's also. Andrew from South Africa who was unable to come to Korea because of ill health kindly agreed to have a Skype conference despite the terrible time difference. He pointed out that the arms trade is astonishingly under-regulated because it's so secretive so susceptible to corruption with no political

oversight or regulation. Therefore, it's up to us to make changes.

After the seminar, we prepared our action together to demonstrate our strong dissent to the arms dealers. We chanted and carried placards together at the JW Marriot hotel where merchants of death had their fancy dinner. We visited the ADEX exhibition to disturb their dirty business deals and met a lot of people who came to the exhibition to see the cool airshow during the public days. We were inspired by our fellow activists from around the world and the strength of international solidarity in action was on display for everyone to see. Our resistance was further strengthened and greatly developed as a result of the seminar and actions. I believe it's not just me or the other Korean activists but also the international participants who were empowered by the seminar and actions we conducted together - we have much to learn from each other. It was a very successful and invigorating event and I hope we can all get together soon.

Krishnakant Chauhan

Krishnakant protesting outside the ADEX arms fair

The two day WRI seminar on War Profiteering – Stopping the War Business: Talking tactics & Linking methods was very insightful and important from the

perspective of what we in India are working on. In India we have been resisting the Corporate-driven development and monopolization of Rights over Natural resources from Community ownership to corporate ownership.

The state, in order to facilitate the process, has always resorted to various way and means to suppress peoples' resistance. The state is making more sophisticated it's means and machinery to suppress the public will. The Police – law & order machinery is the one which is being heavily armed in the name of increasing public security threats, but are mainly used to threaten the public. The sharing from Jordi Calvo was important because India is one of the leading importers of arms in recent times, and Lexys' stories were similar to what is happening in India in the Mineral rich areas, where private armies are armed by the state to suppress the voice of indigenous population.

Also the experience of Tara Tabissi about special units in the name of counter terrorism, which is seen in India with the state slowly arming the police and in turn the police guns pointing towards resisting masses. The experience of Bahrain and their successful protest sets an encouraging example of campaigning.

It is also notable that the state not only uses this argument of an Internal Security threat, but also is allocating huge funds for arms and artilleries citing external threats with neighboring nations. Thus instead of investing on improving relations with neighbors, the funds for public welfare are dried out in favor of security threats.

All the experience sharing of the war business that is entering in the public life is really eye-opening, seeing how the arms lobby is trying to pass through all the borders to extend their profits.

The campaigns clinic also gave an opportunity to share and reflect upon our own campaign in India, and know in depth about other campaigns. The WRI seminar was very useful that it helps relate to the struggles and unfolding trends in my own country. I would like thank all the speakers and WRI for wonderful organizing. The ADEX protest was rejuvenating, the energy of the south Korean friends was contagious and effective.



Krishnakant Chauhan amongst international protesters at the action against the ADEX arms fair. Photo: WRI



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Sowing Seeds: the militarisation of youth and how to counter it

Through articles, images, survey data and interviews, Sowing Seeds: The Militarisation of Youth and How to Counter It documents

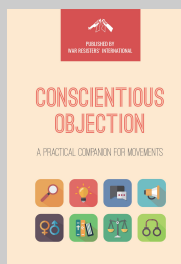
the seeds of war that are planted in the minds of young people in many different countries. However, it also explores the seeds of resistance to this militarisation that are being sown resiliently and creatively by numerous people. We hope the book will help to disseminate these latter seeds. It is not just a book for peace and antimilitarist activists: it is a book for parents and grandparents, teachers, youth workers, and young people themselves.

Author(s)/editor(s): Owen Everett

Publisher: War Resisters' International

Year published: 2013

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Conscientious objection: a practical companion to movements

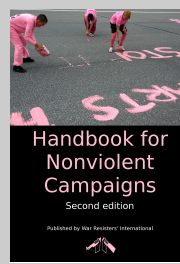
This book is intended as a practical companion for conscientious objection movements and all those whose work forms part of the

continuum of war resistance. It has been written by activists who are campaigning against all kinds of injustice, all over the world. Learning from the lived experience of these activists, the aim is to help movements work together, surmount the external challenges they face, and enhance the concept of conscientious objection, using it in new and innovative ways - such as against war profiteering, or the militarisation of youth. The book also has a specific focus on gender, and the often invisible role of gender, both in the war machine, and in the movements which oppose it.

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The Broken Rifle

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